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influx. The Oregon Trail had been opened, and in the seventies the Prophet Dance, a cult of revival of old ways, was sweeping the Northwest.

The Comanches had no contact with this remote phenomenon, but their crisis was similar. Through all their time they had felt no need for tribal integration, but now it was stand together or go under.

As so often happens in the history of oppressed peoples, a messiah came forth in answer to the need. This was none other than a young and as yet untried warrior–medicine man, *Ishatai*, Coyote Droppings. Coyote Droppings gave evidence of strong powers. He was immune to bullets—not in itself an outstanding trait, for many great warriors had over the years been possessed of such medicine. More significant was his claim to have "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[9] This was unusual. Also, he had, as had other medicine men before him, brought back the dead from the After World. He had power all right. But what really gave him prestige was his successful prediction that a comet which was attracting much attention early in 1873 would disappear in five days and would be followed by a summer-long drought. These things are reputed to have occurred in accordance with his prophecy.

In their despair the Comanches were willing to turn to him for the kind of leadership their established chiefs could not give. When he belched forth a "wagonload" of cartridges and swallowed them again in the presence of several Comanches, they believed that they had really seen this thing. Word spread that Coyote Droppings had such powers as no other Comanche had ever before possessed.[10]

In the hard spring of 1874 the Prophet felt that the time had come for the great endeavor. He announced that the Comanches should gather for a tribal Sun Dance. They should make a great medicine and save themselves. The call, according to R. N. Richardson, "was widely heralded, and when the tribesmen assembled in May at a point on Red River near the agency boundary, every band was represented, several of them by almost one hundred per cent of their people. . . . The great chiefs of the past had never been able to bring the scattered

[9] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 373.
[10] Battey, *op. cit.*, 302–303.

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threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—i.e., "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa practice of delegating the honor[1] to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of integrating the alien members into the tribal whole.

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sekwitsit puhitsit*). Here was something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *koshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material.

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[1] [i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

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could only escape by dodging into the lodges where the mounted Mud Men could not follow them.

The clowns performed no police functions at the dance, as do the Pueblo *koshare*,[12] for the Comanches had no use for tribal police. Neither were they an intrinsic part of the dance itself, as are the *koshare*. They provided a simple comic relief in the serious activities of the Sun Dance preparations; they were a light-hearted gesture in an act of desperation—the inauguration of the Sun Dance for the earthly salvation of the Comanche way of life. As soon as they were done with their clowning, they returned to the creek to cleanse themselves so that they could be back in time for a more serious drama—the sham battle.

While the dance lodge was being finished, a group of warriors went down to the creek to build a symbolic fortified enemy encampment of a circular rail fence. When all the work on the dance lodge was finished, a scout who had served as a real scout went out to find them. He rode back to the main camp signaling the discovery of enemies. All the warriors in the main camp prepared as if for battle, and together they sallied forth to the attack, women and children following to see the show. In the assault on the enemy camp each man attempted to re-enact his own great war deeds before the eyes of the woman and children, who, according to Post Oak Jim, "got scared by the real way they seemed to fight." When the enemy was destroyed, the whole tribe marched back to the camp singing the Victory Song.

It is most probable that the rail-enclosed mock enemy camp was not intended to represent an Indian encampment. Plains Indian villages were not stockaded. Could this have been the white settlement at Adobe Walls, Texas, with its surrounding adobe enclosure, that the Comanches were going to annihilate as soon as the Sun Dance was over? If so, this dramatic by-play was a projective wish-fulfillment of their plan to destroy the whites who were destroying them, just as the symbolic buffalo hunt was a wishful recapture of the herds that were no more.

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is

[12] E. C. Parsons and R. L. Beals, "The Sacred Clowns of the Pueblo and Mayo-Yaqui Indians," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXVI (1934), 491–514.

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The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one.

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing.

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles.

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days.

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[18]

[18] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

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In keeping with the lack of masochism in their approach to the supernatural, the Comanche Sun Dancers made no effort to torture themselves by hanging from the center pole with rawhide thongs through their breasts, as did the tribes to the north. Nor was there any dragging of buffalo skulls around the lodge by means of thongs passed through the back muscles. The only self-denial was of water and food for the duration of the dance, and even this was mitigated by chewing the bark of the slippery elm and a bath in the creek each night.

Visions came to some individuals who fainted in the course of the dancing—an important feature of the Sun Dance for most Plains tribes. In their dances the Comanches did not bother to make vision-seeking a primary interest, however. It was not the reason for which they were dancing. They were dancing to revive the power of the tribe, to weld themselves into one cohesive unit that would launch forth on the great military venture that would sweep the whites from all their land. That was what Coyote Droppings had brought them together for. That was why they were dancing.

There had been much strong talk by Coyote Droppings before he had got the Sun Dance under way—inflammatory talk. Coyote Droppings preached that the Caddos, Wichitas, and other tribes who had accepted reservation life were "going down hill fast" in numbers and well-being. Was this what the Comanches wanted? It would be their fate, he warned them, if they gave in to the lures of the government to get them on the reservation. But he knew, he exhorted his tribesmen, from his visits to the Great Spirit, that if they would all turn to the warpath and annihilate the whites in one fell swoop, the buffalo would come back in numbers. The People would flourish and once again they could live the old life—powerful and prosperous as they had been of yore. These things they could do, he assured them, because he in his great power would share his immunity to bullets with them all. Over them he would shed his protective mantle. They could not fail. They would have the Sun Dance and then go to war. That is why they danced, all except the Wasps, who went back home to Texas when they heard this strong talk in which they had no faith and which they felt boded no good. A few other small groups also pulled out before the dance, being either too prudent or too skeptical to follow the path of the fiery prophet.

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Although a few of the Comanches refused to accept the Prophet, a host of Kiowas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes fell under his spell. They were ready for the great "putsch."

On the day after the Sun Dance was finished, a large party of Comanche and Kiowa warriors "charged" the great Cheyenne camp which stood near by at the head of the Washita River. They were lead by Coyote Droppings and four war chiefs. When their charge was done, the Cheyennes charged in turn, and that evening all the warrior societies of the several tribes danced. "There was much excitement," notes George Bird Grinnell.[14]

The next day they took off for Adobe Walls, an old trading post built by William Bent's men in the eighteen thirties on the South Fork of the Canadian in Hutchinson County, Texas. It was now a center of operations for the later buffalo hunters. It was to be the starting point of the war of extermination. At daybreak on the morning of June 24, the attack was made by a long line of Indians in such numbers that "the noise of the horses' hoofs was like thunder."

Twenty-six white men stood inside the houses. Two were sleeping in a covered wagon outside the walls. With the men in the post was one white woman. It so happened that most of the men had been working all night on the repair of a roof beam, and so they were still up and around when the Indians charged. It also happened that they were armed with new large-bore, long-range buffalo rifles. They were resolute and stout-hearted. In the first charge they killed two Cheyennes and a Comanche. One Cheyenne charged within the walls and was killed. The others turned back and milled around. They charged again and again throughout the morning, and although there were more than enough warriors to overwhelm the little party in the adobe houses, it was not the Plains Indian way to take a bastion by storm.

Coyote Droppings, his naked body painted yellow, sat throughout it all upon his white horse on a distant hill. A Cheyenne father who had lost his son in the fighting taunted him with a dare to go down and bring out his son's body, if he really had immunity to bullets. He refused to move. As though to mock him further, a long-range shot from one of those deadly rifles knocked a member of his party from his horse as he sat with the Prophet watching the fiasco.

[14] Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 312.

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X648 ●795 Early in the afternoon the discouraged Indians gave up. They had killed three white men—they who with the Prophet's protection were going to scour them from the earth. Nine of their own number had been killed and a number wounded. Not a very sanguine battle as battles go in the histories of nations, but it was a crushing spiritual defeat for the Comanches and their friends whose hopes had been so falsely raised. Coyote Droppings had no real power.

X648 But the fighting on the Southern Plains was not yet over. The defeat at Adobe Walls did not check the war spirit, for the Indians plundered and raided for a time over a wide area—Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. In order to distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians, army officials issued an order for all friendly Indians to place their camps on the east side of Cache Creek. Many Kiowas and a large majority of the Comanches failed to obey, and the military regarded them henceforth as "hostiles." One group of the Those Who Move Often band, not wishing to surrender or to remain out on the prairie where they would be attacked, went to the Wichita agency to seek protection. Hearing of their presence there, the army officers went to demand their surrender as prisoners of war. An incident during the parley led to a fight and was the opening signal for new campaigns. Other Indians now joined the renegade bands, and probably one-half of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Cheyenne tribes were openly hostile during the early autumn of 1874.

Meanwhile, in July the government in Washington had given its consent for the army to attack the Indians in their own territory and to subdue them wherever they offered resistance to constituted authority. The outbreak of 1874 had put an end to the Peace Policy. From all sides, troops poured into the Comanche and Kiowa range. Colonel Nelson A. Miles moved south from Camp Supply. Major William Price moved east from Fort Union in northern New Mexico. Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Davidson operated to the west from Fort Sill. Colonel MacKenzie operated north from Fort Concho, Texas, along the "Fresh Water Fork of the Brazos." Colonel G. P. Buell pushed up Red River in the region between Davidson and MacKenzie. Their concerted purpose was to drive all the Indians on the reservation or to kill them.

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hunt to obtain a portion of their winter supply of meat, and the sale of buffalo robes was the source of a large part of their income. They preferred their own clothing obtained by means of the hunt to that provided by the government. The agent defended their cause, and the final decision was that they might continue to hunt off the reservation, but must be accompanied by a military escort when they did so.[18]

The regulation was tardy, for the day of the old-time summer communal hunt was past. Nevertheless, the whole tribe set out eagerly for their old hunting grounds. But there were no buffalo. Only white bones gleaming ghostlike in the sun, victims of the white hunters' long-range rifles, remained as a reminder of the vast herds that once covered the plains. And even the bones were not to lie undisturbed for long; they were to be ground up for fertilizer. From creek to creek the Comanches journeyed. Their scouts ranged far and wide seeking the herds. The few antelope they met hardly provided them with daily food. Still there were no buffalo, no feasts of marrow bones and tidbits, no racks of meat drying for their winter needs, no buffalo robes to turn the cold north wind.

"They will come when the leaves fall," the Indians said. But the frosts came and the weather grew colder, and still the plains were empty. The time allowed by the agent for the hunt expired. Some gave up hope and returned to the reservation, glad to get their rations of flour, sugar, rice, and beeves. The agent sent an emissary with food to bring the others back to the reservation. The aid came in good time, for they were starving. They had killed some of their ponies and were suffering in the season's early snowstorm. They accepted the inevitable and returned sadly with the emissary to the agency. Sullenness and despair fell upon them. The buffalo had failed, and they now began to realize for certain that their old way of life had ended. Several war chiefs abdicated, and there followed a noticeable trend away from communal life toward family life.

Now the Comanches began to turn in all seriousness to a source of religious solace that could not and has not failed them. The Sun Dance had failed them and they felt that their power-giving spirits

[18] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 60; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1878, and reply, October 14, 1878.

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795 had all but forsaken them. Their accustomed guardian spirits, and even the Sun, lacked sufficient power to turn back the whites and to preserve their old tribal way of life; they needed and sought new power. The answer was peyote.

It was strong power, and it could always be invoked. Visions could always be had through peyote; it was reassuring to The People.

Peyote worship developed as essentially a group experience. It always has been, and still is. The old camp life was broken up. The Comanches were having to learn to live on isolated farmsteads. They yearned for the companionship of each other. In the peyote meetings they were brought together in the warm intimacy of the sacred tipi. They sat shoulder to shoulder in common experience. There they knew that they were not alone, and they could feel that all was not lost.

R. N. Richardson records the general belief that peyote was first used by the Comanches near Fort Sill, about 1875, shortly after they had been confined on the reservation.[19] D. P. McAllester, in his excellent study of Comanche peyote music, also sets the eighteen seventies as the period in which the Comanches first took up peyote.[20] This, it is true, is the time when the use of peyote in the form of a religious cult really took hold among the Comanches. Until their collapse and the failure of their venture with Coyote Droppings there was no functional reason for them to rely on a drug as the means to supernatural power, although they had access to it and, indeed, had used it in a limited way for some time.

[824] There is ample evidence in the data given by Post Oak Jim, Breaks Something, White Wolf, Kɔwino, and Frank Moeda to make it quite certain that the Comanches "knew" peyote before the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days it was used exclusively as a war medicine—especially as an aid in seer-seeing to determine what dangers to expect or where to find horses or enemies.

Peyote, a small, gray-green, spineless, napiform cactus, is botanically known as *Lophophora williamsii*. It contains pharmacologically a complex number of alkaloids capable of producing a variety of physiological effects, including visual and auditory hallucinations, as well

[19] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 34, n.55.
[20] D. P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, 13.

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as a number of medicinal specifics for an as yet undetermined series of illnesses and pathological states. It is not, so far as has been determined, a habit-forming drug of the sort that requires continuing and increasing doses in order to meet a physiological craving. Unlike alcohol it does not cause a loss of muscular control or co-ordination, although it does produce a slowing down of reaction time accompanied by a sensation of euphoric relaxation and a feeling of absolute social harmony toward everyone present in the peyote session. Among the American Indians, at least, the effect is sedative and it has not the least tendency to rouse its partakers to violent behavior. It banishes fatigue and produces no "hangover" effects.

The ritual use of peyote goes far back into old Mexico. The *conquistadores* found it in religious contexts in Central Mexico, and it flourishes among the Cora-Huichol and, to a lesser extent, among the Tarahumara. The word "peyote" is corrupted Nahuatl (Aztecan) for the word for caterpillar, "peyotl," so called because the fuzzy white tufts on the rounded top of the plant look like the fuzzy back of a caterpillar.

By 1716, according to a note of Velasco, the Indians of South Texas were using "pellote." The Carrizo Apaches are believed to be the group through whom it was transmitted to other Apaches; and the Comanches believe that they first got it from either the Carrizo or White Mountain Apaches.

McAllester presents a full and detailed Comanche version of the acquisition of peyote from the Carrizo Apache. According to this account, a young Comanche war leader lost all his followers in a fight with the Carrizos. He himself was scalped, stripped, and left for dead. The Apaches were holding a peyote meeting sometime later when the scalped Comanche entered their lodge. He told them that in four days seven Comanches would arrive among them. "When those seven arrive you are to have a peyote meeting. When you have the meeting I command you to give them my bow and this peyote. They shall take these things from you with them." This the Carrizos agreed to do; and thus it came to pass that the Comanches learned about peyote.[21]

As McAllester points out, his version, which was recorded in

[21] *Ibid.*, 14–17.

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1940, is "more of an historical account than a myth," for it lacks the usual diagnostic characteristics of Plains Indian mythology. But when set against a hitherto unpublished and more pristine account, given to the Laboratory of Anthropology researchers by White Wolf in 1933, it may be seen to what degree the myth-making tendency has built up the story in the McAllester version.

« « « A war party of Comanches was returning from a raid in the country far to the west. When they were camped in the country of the White Mountain Apaches, they heard a drumming different from any kind they knew. Their leader said, "I shall go to see what kind of a thing this is. If I do not return, you will know that I am dead."

An Apache had had a dream that an enemy Comanche was to appear, so they were not surprised when this war chief showed up. Their leader had said they should bring him right in when he appeared.

When he came into their meeting, the Apache leader asked him why he was there.

"I wanted to follow up the drum," was his reply.

They were holding a peyote meeting, and the peyote leader told him to observe closely all that happened. In this way he learned the ritual. When the meeting was over, they gave him the drum and the Father Peyote. They told him where to find more peyote for the use of the Comanches. This is how we learned about this herb.

I was told this when I was a small boy by an old man who had been told it by an old man. » » »

White Wolf, at the time of the telling of this simple account was himself eighty ears of age.

Greyfoot observed that although the Comanches first got peyote from the Apaches "a long time ago," they dropped it "because some medicine men began using it in an evil way."

In the eighteen sixties it was coming into limited use again as war medicine, as indicated in the following account given by Breaks Something, who had been told it by *Mamsaka*.

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« « « Charcoal led us on a trip to find where the peyote plants grew. The Apaches knew where it was, and they gave the directions to Charcoal. 177 795

On the road Charcoal finally recognized the place which the Apaches had described to him. All the Comanches spread out to search for the plant. They had never seen it growing before, but *Mʌmɛ́ka* recognized some. He called the others to come look.

They all gathered around the patch and arranged themselves in the peyote-meeting formation. Charcoal was the leader. He made smoke to the peyote. He addressed it, saying, "We are going to take you for protection against the enemies."

Then he cut off the head of a big peyote plant just below the ground. He cleaned the dirt off of it, wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in his pocket over his heart. Now he told the others to cut all the peyote they needed. He said they would have a meeting that evening.

For their peyote lodge they cut brush which they formed in the shape of a tipi and covered with robes. Charcoal formed the earth crescent and fireplace in the center. All prepared for the meeting; they bathed and returned to the camp to get painted up. Then they entered the tipi in the ceremonial fashion. *Mʌmɛ́ka* was the fire tender. Charcoal placed the first button he had cut on the crescent for the road medicine, Father Peyote. He lit a cigarette with a coal, and then he spoke to the peyote. He told it he heard it had power; he was going into enemy territory; and he told it he was going to carry it for protection. He put his cigarette down and chewed some 783 wild sage which he rubbed over his body as a purifier. The other men did the same.

Now a bag of peyote buttons was brought in. Charcoal took four. Each of the other men was also given four.

Then each man chewed a piece of peyote into a pulp. He spewed it out into his hand, made four circular motions toward the fire, and swallowed it. Then he spit in his hands and rubbed them over his head, arms, and ears to take away aches and pains, and to hear better.

Charcoal used his bow for the singer's staff. A rattle and drum had been brought along for the occasion. Each man sang four songs as they passed the staff and the rattle and drum around the circle.

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795 Then they passed out more peyote.

Finally, Charcoal spoke up: "*MʌmsɔÌka*, stir the fire. I have learned that tomorrow we shall all be killed."

He smoked again and spoke to the peyote, telling it that he did not expect anything bad like this from it. Now he was in a very dangerous place, he said.

Next he talked to his followers.

"Tomorrow we go over a certain hill. I have seen that there will be two companies of soldiers there. We might as well die now. Let this peyote kill us right here! Eat a lot of it."

With tears in his eyes, he ate more and more.

At midnight the water was brought in, and they all smoked. Charcoal again upbraided the peyote for treating him thus, and he ate more and more peyote.

After a while Charcoal spoke again.

"I have learned more," he said. "Tomorrow we shall meet some enemies, but no harm will come to us. We shall go on and capture some horses and get home safely. There will be a gray one for me."

The next morning they ate breakfast and prepared to leave. They traveled a bit and went up a hill. On an opposite hill, across a creek they saw two companies of soldiers. After a drill, the soldiers left. Our people went down the hill and traveled southwest all day long. At night they came upon an enemy camp where there were many horses, among them a gray one. Cried Charcoal, "That's *my* horse."

They gathered up the horses and made for home, Charcoal riding the gray.

This shows the wonderful power of peyote. It all came true. » » »

Charcoal's first peyote button was preserved by him until his death, when he gave it to a friend, who in time gave it to *MʌmsɔÌka*, who still preserved and cherished this famous button in 1933.

With such powers, peyote took firm hold of the Comanches as soon as they settled down on the reservation. Its worship flourished, until in the early part of the present century it suffered from opposition emanating from missionaries and government officers.

The old leaders were waging a losing fight to retain their religious practices through the peyote sacrament until James Mooney, a rep-

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resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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177
x 648
•975

would bring back the spirits of the dead Indians, the buffalo, wild horses, and all the other animals which had formerly been on the plains. Indians and whites would live together in brotherly forbearance. But the Sioux, as they took up the Paiute-Christian pacifism of the Prophet, transformed it into a doctrine of aggressive retribution. All peoples except the Indians were to be pushed off the earth into the seas whence they came, and be drowned. All that the Great Spirit required of the Indians was to have faith in the teaching and to dance strange new dances. It would not be necessary to go to war. The dance prepared the people for the Messiah and would bring forth the new earth.

Far out on Elk Creek, away from the agency, a camp was set up for the Ghost Dance. The ceremony was strange and solemn. The dancers, both men and women, sang a plaintive and pathetic song, representing their struggles and hardships. It was a ceremony of despair. Some dancers wore white clothes so that the ghosts of the departed would not be afraid to come back and live with their people. With hands clasped, the dancers moved around a center pole to the cadence of a chant, while the medicine man in the center strove to induce a hypnotic trance in each of the dancers. As the dance progressed, the dancers succumbed, falling on the ground in a stupor and remaining there for as long as an hour. During the trance they saw visions of the antelope and bison in numbers, and the dear, departed dead.

Sitting Bull was sincere, although he was also getting wealthy from the fees he charged. Many Indians were deeply affected and followed him around trying to touch the hem of his garments or grasp his hand and pray, frequently with tears rolling down their cheeks.

Most of the Comanche leaders, including Chief Quanah Parker, had no faith in the new prophecy. They recalled another day in 1874 when a young medicine man claimed great power and had made promises to save his people from destruction if they would only follow him. They had made medicine and followed him to Adobe Walls, where their faith and dreams were shattered and they learned to their sorrow that their leader had no more power than themselves. It had been a bitter and unforgettable disappointment.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites.

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah.

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them.

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

/page 36 continued/

C According to the other view such earlier factioning is recog-
K nized but felt to be unimportant. It is maintained that the unity of
829 the tribes was not impaired until during the past four or five years.
665 The older men were sensible and had great integrity. But the age group most active today are the product of a period in which people learned to lean on the government. These men, so the argument runs, are weaklings because they have been able or even allowed, to solve something for themselves. In other words it is a "lost generation" theory of sorts. The remedy for this state of affairs would be for a withdrawal of the Indian Service from virtually all areas of Indian life. /37/It is felt that a sink and swim period would be painful but would ultimately make the Indian self sufficient.

One is led to consider a view which explains present phenomena in the light of earlier cultural conditioning as well as one which attempts to explain in terms of exterior factors acting upon the community in the recent past. The ruminations of the informants on their own problems are not far from the thought processes of the anthropologist analyzing them. Both lines of thought seem rational and realistic if a trifle too pat. But a merging of the two might also be an easy out. Perhaps unfortunately, my own inclination, is to fashion an answer which would satisfy both sides of the argument to a greater or lesser extent.

C It has been mentioned above that the composition of the
K factions does not correspond with religious cleavages. On the other
665 hand the present picture does not indicate that the Peyotists who
795 are active in politics play a role equal to that of the non-Peyotists. Although there are indications that prominent Peyotists have been active and vocal political leaders in the past this does not appear to be the case at the present. Whether the present picture is a significant one is too early to say.

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C K 665 795 Of the four factions, two Kiowa and two Comanche, only one does not have a Peyotist in a leading position (opposition Kiowas). The Comanche separatists have a Peyote man but it is now almost an exaggeration to say that he is a leader although he has been in the past. Both the anti-separationists and the present Kiowa faction controlling the business council have one Peyotist each in a leadership position. In one case the Peyotist does not speak much, prefers not to take strong positions and lets his son, who has no clear religious affiliations, do most of the talking. The anti-separationist Peyotist is an elderly man who tries to play both sides. He is sympathetic to the separationists as well as to his own party and maintains that he is on the side he is on because of claims made by friendship ties. In any event the actions of the active as well as politically inactive (but prominent) Peyotists seems to be one of avoiding any political action which will place them irrevocably in a certain direction.

While there is no ready explanation for this, especially because we do not know whether Peyotists have always acted this way in politics, a look at one Peyote group and the affiliations of its members will serve to show why the individuals may be afraid of strong political commitments.

C 665 795 The Peyotist attempts to be a peaceful man and if dissension occurs within his local group of co-religionists he is made quite uncomfortable. John Pahdoponi withdrew from political life because he did not want to struggle with the new group coming into power (the present business council). Because of his dislike of the present council he favors separation as a means of side stepping the issue. Some of his former close associates are also active separationists. On the other hand one of his "brothers" in the Peyote community is a leader in the anti-separationist group. To add to this quandry,

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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/page 37 continued/

C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his "brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
372 situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[609] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
177 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
665 further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has C K 118 been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 115 118 [118] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 115 177 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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C K 795 177 [787] consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed. The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descriptions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K 781 177 [785] Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K 823 778 [787] C K 823 778 177 [775] C K 787

C K 276 795 778 [787] Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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get. In the days before the first World War there were many special peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are instructive.

In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were concerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom. But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation. In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

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Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger generation could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Peyote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

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give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long. The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

/41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could ever be.

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795 Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christian-
177 ity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of
[824] the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

795 According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin.
783 That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it
171 were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage.
772 The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

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The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every-day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem /42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress, etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken more at face value. The statements of the representative of the Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics. The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent." They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis, etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new factors enter the scene.

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C K 795 177 At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C K 829 177 If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position. He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an C K 795 177 objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote play a similar role. And <u>if</u> the White-Indian tensions are central to the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

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C K 829 177 Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfaction in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superiority. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction, there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identical function.

C K [829] Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites, and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to mention this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the entrance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many statements on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

C K 795 771 C K [129] C K 779 795 533 829

/page 43 continued/

In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped to operate due to my own color.

Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty years.

/44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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619 southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in
621 its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treach-
184 ery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.
721
657 The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a
619 separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to
621 break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas.
184 Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.
186

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

619 Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differenti-
621 ation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the
184 Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional
795 elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a
619 further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field
621 research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to
184 be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive
619 northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the rela-
621 tively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call
184 for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative
166 southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

619 Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist.
621 The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were
184 *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge con-
115 cerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the
[759] northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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771
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755

They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

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I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.** The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way ... like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

** Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20
Comanche N06●

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 105

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tem.	Pa-Ut.	Ow.	Ru.	Wa-Ks	Co-Ks	Co-Ut	Co-Ks	Nc-Ks	Wa.	Ec.	Ec.	Ks.	Ks.	Cam.	Ks.	Ks.	Ks.	Ks.	Ks.	Ut.
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Decorated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16. Only after midnight	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17. To accompany singer holding staff				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. Binding decorated		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21. Passed around	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Held with staff while singing	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Only after midnight	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

N
W
171
534
785
796

C
171
534
785 ●
796

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6 ●
Delaware NM7
C
D
171
● 795
796
534
679

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																								
	SUT	PAI	PIT	OMA	KIO	ARA	DOA	DO2	WIN	SHO	OT1	OT2	WES	PAU	OMI	PA2	TOT
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	+
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	+	–	–	°–	+	–	–	–	
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	+	+			
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°–	+	°+	–		+	°–	°–	+	°(+)	°–	
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
79. 4 or more assistants		–	°–	–	–	+	+	°+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		°+	°–	–	°+	°–	–	°+	°–	°+	+
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	°+	+		°+	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	–	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C D 111 M5 796 [27] ●

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche ND6 ●
Crow NQ40
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
Co
Cr
D
W
171
●745
716
783)
718]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[A]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NOK
Delaware NM7
C D 171 ● TRS PAL [538]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche NM6 ●
Delaware NM7

Element	Occurrence																				
	LtT	E-A	Ela	Com	Ela	Ab 3	Da 1	Da 2	Wis	Xe C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Dia	Gos	W-P	Tim				
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+				
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	+				
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	•(+)	(+)	−	+	+	+	+				
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−				
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−				
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	•+	(+)	+	+				
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−			(+)	+	−	•+	−	+					
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+				
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+		+	+				
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+				
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
201. Butt handed to leader	•		+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−					
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•	+	−	+	+		−					
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−					
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	•					
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−					
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+					
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+				
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+				
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+				

(Concluded on next page)

C
D
171
345
346
[276]
[278]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NJ06 ●
Winnebago N P12
C W 171 ● PSS 796 [B2]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Comanche N06 ●
Winnebago NP12

Element	Occurrence																									
	LtT	K-A	Ka	Com	Ka	Ap	Da 1	Da 2	Wa	Ow	Ot 1	Ot 2	WBS	Du	Gu	P-a	Tm									
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		C								
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	W								
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+									
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+									
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+										
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+									
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
265a. (See note)																										

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1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celluloid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound toegether is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgᵂeʔi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 100) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 96. Win: See note 96.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 99; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

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160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer; then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 255a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

D [782]

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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Comanche ND6
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Ojibwa NG 6
Dhegiha NQ12
Iroquois NM 9

APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 32–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribe	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

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Winnebago NP12
Ojibwa NG6
Dhegiha NA12
Iroquois NM9

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATURES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.0	3.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8